Cardinal Bergoglio (now Pope Francis)
and Archbishop Kissag Hadjian of the Armenian Church in Argentina

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CHRYSOSTOM

Cardinal Bergoglio (now Pope Francis) with His Holiness Karezim II Supreme Patriarch and Catholikos of all Armenians

THE NEWSLETTER OF
THE SOCIETY OF ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

NEW SERIES VOLUME FIFTEEN SUMMER 2013

The Society of St John Chrysostom

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Chrysostom Trinity 2013

The Newsletter of the Society of St. John Chrysostom.

New Series Volume Fifteen

Dear Members and Friends,

Since the last edition of *Chrysostom* there has been a general post of Popes, Patriarchs, and Primates - Pope Benedict XVI has retired, Pope Francis has been inaugurated in St.Peter's basilica and in the Lateran, with special emphasis on his role as Bishop of Rome. In the Coptic Church Pope Shenouda III died and has been replaced by Pope Tawadros; and the Abuna Salama (Father of Peace) Patriarch of Ethiopia has also been replaced, while the Greek Patriarch of Antioch and All The East has now been enthroned in Damascus. In Canterbury Archbishop Justin has been enthroned (twice) in the archdiocesan throne and on the Primatial throne of St Augustine.

These new Christian leaders have wasted no time in making contact with each other. In the case of the Coptic Pope he seems to have reversed the attitude of Pope Shenouda III in that he appears to be on the way to recognizing the validity of Catholic baptism, although the recognition of mixed marriages between Copts and other Christians, including Roman Catholics, has not yet been resolved. Seemingly, Pope Tawadros is quite different from Pope Shenouda III in his attitude towards the ecumenical movement.

It is said that on his election to the Chair of Peter, Pope Francis was asked by a Vatican monsignore whether he would like to wear the scarlet mozetta lined with ermine. "No, Monsignore," the Pope replied. "You wear it. The Carnival is over!". At his inauguration the Holy Father wore very simple white vestments and it is said that whereas Pope Pius XII dined entirely alone, not even sitting down to eat with Emperors or Kings, Pope Francis joins the queue at the Vatican canteen. His

choice of name would seem to point to the style of ministry he will follow, that of the Pavorello of Assisi and not that of "A Renaissance Prince".

The Holy Father and Archbishop Justin have not let the grass grow under their feet and have met very early on in their ministry. The question of the Ordinariate seems to have been satisfactorily resolved, and A.R.C.I.C. is set to continue.

Pope Francis is very familiar with the Eastern Catholic Churches and is a friend, from Argentina days, with Patriarch Sviatoslav of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. At his inauguration the Holy Father gathered together the Patriarchs of the Eastern Catholic Churches at the tomb of St Peter, rather than the Latin Cardinals; and perhaps this indicates a new position for the Eastern Catholic Churches regarding their autonomy. There seems to be interesting times ahead !

I am pleased to be able to tell you that we have an Acting Secretary to the Society of St. John Chrysostom. He is :
Mr Peter Pidjarkowskyj Bykar, the son of the late Father Deacon Bykar, who although a Ukrainian was ordained as a Deacon in the Latin Church. Members who attended Father Deacon's funeral at St. Peter-in-Chains in North London, may remember meeting Peter.

Congratulations to our Vice-Chairman Father Mark Woodruff on being granted by Rome bi-ritual faculties to serve in The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Byzantine Catholic Rite.

Yours sincerely in Dno.,

John Salter

MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS PATRIARCH KIRILL OF MOSCOW AND ALL THE RUSSIAS TO HIS HOLINESS BENEDICT XVI, POPE EMERITUS

Your Holiness!

In these exceptional days for you, I would like to express the feelings of brotherly love in Christ and respect.

The decision to leave the position as Bishop of Rome, which you, with humility and simplicity, announced on February 11th 2013, has found a ready response in the hearts of millions of Catholics.

We have always been close to your consistent ministry, marked by uncompromising in matters of faith and unswerving adherence to the living Tradition of the Church. At a time when the ideology of permissiveness and moral relativism tries to dislodge the moral values of life, you boldly raised your voice in the defence of evangelical ideas, the high dignity of man and his vocation to freedom from sin.

I have warm memories of our meeting when you were elected to the Roman See. During your ministry we received a positive impetus in the relations between our Churches, responding to the modern world as a witness to Christ crucified and risen. I sincerely hope what developed during your active participation, a good trusting relationship between the Orthodox and the Catholics will continue to grow with your successor.

Please accept my sincere wishes for good health, long life and help from above in prayer and in your theological writings.

"May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace" (Romans 15 : 13)

With love in the Lord.

+Kyrill, Patriarch of Moscow and All The Russias.

HIS HOLINESS KAREKIN II, SUPREME PATRIARCH AND CATHOLIKOS OF ALL ARMENIANS FROM HOLY ETCHMIADZIN CONGRATULATED HIS HOLINESS POPE FRANCIS.

Dear Brother in Christ,

On the joyous occasion of Your election as successor to the Holy See of St. Peter, we convey to Your Holiness greetings of fraternal love and congratulations. We pray that the Lord will grant to your Holiness a most fruitful pontificate blessed with many everlasting accomplishments for the glory of God and the splendour of the Church of Christ. We fondly remember our meetings and prayers with Your Holiness in Argentina, during which we came to know you as a good shepherd, and a courageous, wise and just Church Leader. We are happy to avow Your sincere love and affection shown towards the Armenian people.

It is also spiritually comforting that the historical relationship between our Churches has been distinguished with fraternal warmth. We greatly value the significant progress that our Churches have made, a result of the collaborative efforts undertaken during the pontificates of ourselves and our predecessors. This has been manifested through mutual visits and elaborated through many educational and charitable programs.

It is our prayer that our co-operative efforts will continue to grow into the future and that the relations between our sister Churches will blossom with new achievements for the sake of meeting the challenges facing humanity, and in promoting and fortifying the dialogue and solidarity between nations and religions.

+Karekin II

Supreme Catholikos & Patriarch of All Armenians

THE FATE OF HAGIA SOPHIA

Following the First World War there was an attempt to regain the Church of the Holy Wisdom for Christian worship, as related in the last edition of *Chrysostom.* This failed, but the new ruler of Turkey following the collapse of the Ottoman Sultanate, Kemal Attaturk attempted to turn Turkey into a secular state and part of his reforms was to transform Hagia Sophia into a neutral secular museum in 1934, together with the abolition of the veiling of women and the fez for men; and the forbidding of religious dress for Christians apart from the Œcumenical patriarch and the Patriarch of the Armenians of Constantinople. Visitors to

Istanbul will have noticed the return of the veil and the fez. Now there are many Turks who wish to see Agia Sophia returned again for Moslem worship. In centres outside Istanbul there have been transformations of historic churches into mosques, such as the 13th century Byzantine church building, also named Hagia Sophia, in Trebizond (Turkish Trabazon). During Turkey's secular period the church's frescoes were restored. Yet local authorities have recently decreed that the Christian frescoes should again be covered and the church/museum turned into a worshipping mosque. The 5th century Studios monastery of St John Prodromou (The Foreunner) is set to become an active mosque. Also at risk is the oldest continuously functioning monastery in the world the 5th century Mar Gabriel, now inhabited by a handful of Christians dedicated to learning the ancient Aramaic and Syrian Orthodox tradition. Neighbouring Moslems have filed a law suit accusing the monks of anti-Turkish activities. The highest appeal court in Ankara ruled in favour of the Moslem villagers. It was said that the monastic lands had been part of the Christian community for 1,600 years and is not the monastery's property as it had been built on the site of a mosque, overlooking the fact that the monastery had been built 170 years before the birth of the Prophet Mohammed!

560 years ago this year, Constantinople fell to the Turks and the Christians lost the greatest cathedral in Christendom, which had been a symbol of defiance against jihad. Today jihad is again on the agenda, whilst in the West, Europeans are busy erasing their Christian heritage.

"SPONSORED" PILGRIMAGE FROM METTINGHAM TO BIXLEY - SATURDAY 3rd AUGUST 2013

On Saturday 3rd August 2013, Orthodox Reader Mark Tattum-Smith will undertake a pilgrimage from the College of Our Lady of Mettingham to the church of St. Wandregesilius at Bixley near Norwich. This will be a revival of a pilgrimage that we know was actually conducted by the clergy and students of Mettingham College to the shrine of the saint at Bixley throughout the Middle Ages. The route is approximately 20 miles over varied terrain including roads, footpaths and bridlepaths. Once at Bixley there will be a small moleben service to St. Wandregesilius at the now sadly ruined church.

Mark made the same pilgrimage by foot last year in honour of St. Wandregesilius, but this year he wondered if anyone would be interested in sponsoring him in order to raise funds for the Mettingham Orthodox Trust's "Common Room Appeal". If you feel moved to do this fill in the form below giving your name and address and the total amount that you would like to give.

We would be especially grateful if everyone who is eligible could sign the gift-aid declaration column so that the Trust can receive the full benefit of your donation.

Mark asks that you pray for fine weather and that, through the prayers of St. Wandregesilius, he will be able to complete his pilgrimage.

I would like to sponsor Reader Mark Tattum-Smth's Mettingham to Bixley Pilgrimage by foot for the Mettingham Orthodox Trust (Charity Reg. No. 1145765) on Saturday 3rd August 2013.-

Name _____

Address _____
Email _____
Total Amount £ _____
Please sign if you are a UK Tax Payer. _____

Please return with any sponsorship money as a cheque to the :-
"Mettingham Orthodox Trust", to :
The White House, Low Road, Mettingham, Suffolk, NR35 1TP

ANGLICAN DEAN OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, CHOSEN FOR THIS YEAR'S RATZINGER PRIZE

This was announced on 26th June at a Press Conference that overviewed the activities of " The Vatican Foundation: Joseph Ratzinger – Benedict XVI.

One of the main events explained was the October 24th-26th symposium – "The Gospels History and Christology. The Research of Joseph Ratzinger".

The winners of the foundation's annual prize were also announced: the English Biblical scholar the Revd. Richard A. Burridge, Dean of King's College, London, and a Priest of the Anglican Communion – the first non-Roman Catholic to receive the award; and the German lay theologian Christian Schaller, Professor of Dogmatic Theology, and deputy director of the Pope Benedict XVI Institute of Regensburg,Germany, which is publishing the complete works of Joseph Ratzinger.

Pope Bendict XVI instituted this foundation named after him on March 1st 2010. Its academic committee seeks to establish the criteria of excellence for the creation and assignment of prizes to scholars, who have distinguished themselves in the area of publication and/or academic research. The foundation's aim is to place the question of God at the heart of academic reflection. With the Ratzinger Prize, one of the foundation's three main activities, it hopes to call attention to this subject. Its two principal activities awarding scholarships to those pursuing doctorates in Theology and organizing conferences of high academic standard.

Speaking at the conference His Eminence Cardinal Camillo Ruini, President of the Foundation's academic committee said "Richard Burridge is definitely an eminent figure in the field of Biblical studies and not only of the English language. In particular, he has made a great contribution in that decisive area of the historical and theological recognition of the Gospels' inseparable connection to Jesus of Nazareth".

The prize will be conferred on October 26th

Catholic Bishop in Egypt Notes Hopes for Strengthened Ties With Copts

Bishop Kyrillos William of Assiut described to Aid to the Church in Need his hopes for what he called a "watershed" in ecumenical relations.

One key contention between the churches is that the Coptic Orthodox Church does not recognize Catholic baptism.

Catholics converting to marry Coptic Orthodox Christians have to be baptized in their Church. And such conversions are not unusual, as anyone marrying outside the Coptic Orthodox Church, or one of its sister Oriental Orthodox Churches, is barred from the sacraments.

Rumors in February 2010 that Pope Shenouda III would allow marriage between Catholics and Orthodox, because of the two Churches' theological and doctrinal closeness, were quickly quashed by Coptic Orthodox officials.

During an interview with Catholic charity Aid to the Church in Need, Bishop William was asked if he expected movement on the issue of Catholic baptism being recognized. He replied: "Yes, Tawadros has said this himself."

Bishop William clarified, however, that any change in the position on baptism will be far from straightforward.

He said his impression is that Francis' "cordial nature and the openness of Tawadros's curia representatives and his companions, including also disciples of [the previous Pope,] Shenouda, have made a positive impact."

He added that improving relations between the two Churches were being driven by the common problems Catholic and Orthodox Christians were experiencing in Egypt.

"When the revolution broke out two years ago spontaneous consultations arose between us Catholics and the Orthodox Church as well as Protestants. We wanted to speak with one voice."

And according to Bishop William, the new Coptic Orthodox Pope's actions reveal a commitment to ecumenism.

He said: "Pope Tawadros has shown from the very beginning that he wishes to come closer to the other Churches.

"Just after the election of Pope Francis he pushed for a meeting on 10th May – that is the 40th anniversary of the meeting between Pope Paul VI and Pope Shenouda III.

"Now it isn't easy to obtain an audience in the Vatican at short notice. But great efforts were made to meet Tawadros' wishes.

"I think that this really is a watershed. Tawadros is quite different from his predecessor Shenouda as far as the ecumenical movement is concerned."

Source: http://www.zenit.org/en/articles/37217

Statement by Bishops and Representatives of Jordan on Kidnapping of Syrian Prelates

Today, Tuesday May 21st, 2013 and after more than a month of the kidnapping of His Excellency the Syriac Orthodox Archbishop of Aleppo Yohanna Ibrahim and His Excellency the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Aleppo Paul Yaziji as well as other priests kidnapped in Syria, bishops and Representatives of Churches in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, called for a candles silent march, to declare their condemnation of the kidnapping, especially that it took place during Easter time that is celebrated in accordance to the eastern calendar on 5 May, 2013.

The Heads of Churches in Jordan believe that the kidnapping their Excellencies, which is inacceptable, raises concerns not only over their lives, which are as sacred as the Holiness of the Almighty Creator, but also over the moral of the Syrian people especially those in the parishes the two Bishops represent and lead on the road of faith and good citizenship.

Bishops Yaziji and Yohanna Ibrahim are known for their wide knowledge, cherished citizenship and moderate spiritual leadership. They authored many books, where believers and intellectuals alike find spiritual and intellectual richness. So,their kidnap takes way two of them most important Arab Christian figures of our present time.

The bishops and Representatives of the Churches in Jordan hope that this silent candle march, prayers and calls will soften hearts and bring back the esteemed Bishops immediately. In this silent march, the bishops and representatives of the Churches in Jordan express solidarity with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and all the East, represented by His Beatitude Patriarch Youhanna 10th Yaziji Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, and the Syriac Orthodox Church represented by His Holiness Mar Ignatius Zakka IIwas, and call for prayer for the two sister churches and for all the churches in the world, whose leaderships never seized to call upon all people of conscience and good will in collaboration with all official, religious and civil authorities for the release of the esteemed Bishops.

The Bishops and Representatives of Churches in Jordan, recognize the sensitivity of the current time and situation in the Arab region and pray to God, the Almighty to restore tranquility and stability to cherished Syria. They also call, at this particular time, for the respect of the Holy Places in Palestine, especially in East Jerusalem. They also hope that these days will encourage fraternal solidarity and national unity among the followers of Islam and Christianity in our dear country Jordan, and other countries in the Middle East.

The Heads and Representatives of the Churches reiterate call for the release of the two Bishops and their returned unharmed to their churches and society and pray to God, the Almighty to bless the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and keep the grace of security, stability and the cherished national unity under the leadership of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein.

Together with His Majesty, the Heads and Representatives of the Churches reaffirm the distinguished role played by the Arab Christians alongside their Muslim brothers: "The Arab Christians are an integral part of the Arab-Islamic civilization, and we must all work to maintain the promotion of Christian

presence and reduce their immigration especially from Palestine and some Arab countries experiencing instability."(11.3.2012)

May God keep Jordan safe and secure, and restored tranquility and peace to beloved Syria and to all countries of the East and the world.

Bishops and Representative of Churches in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Amman, 21 May 2013.

Source: http://www.zenit.org/en/articles/37234

Historic Meeting Between Pope Francis And Pope Tawadros II, Head Of Coptic Orthodox Church Of Egypt

Vatican City, 10 May 2013 (VIS) - The visit of Tawadros II, Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark, "strengthens the bonds of friendship and brotherhood that already exist between the See of Peter and the See of Mark, heir to an inestimable heritage of martyrs,

theologians, holy monks, and faithful disciples of Christ, who have borne witness to the Gospel from generation to generation, often in situations of great adversity," said Pope Francis on receiving the head of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt this morning. The pontiff remarked on the memorable meeting that took place, 40 years ago, between the predecessors of both, Pope Paul VI and Pope Shenouda III, which united them "in an embrace of peace and fraternity, after centuries of mutual distance."

The Joint Declaration that was signed then by those two Popes represented "a milestone on the ecumenical journey" and helped institute a joint commission of theological dialogue between the two Churches, which "has yielded good results and has prepared the ground for a broader dialogue between the Catholic Church and the entire family of Oriental Orthodox Churches, a dialogue that continues to bear fruit to this day. In that solemn Declaration," Francis emphasized, "our Churches acknowledged that, in line with the apostolic traditions, they profess "one faith in the One Triune God" and 'the divinity of the Only-begotten Son of God ... perfect God with respect to his divinity, perfect man with respect to his humanity'. They acknowledged that divine life is given to us and nourished through the seven sacraments and they recognized a mutual bond in their common devotion to the Mother of God."

The Bishop of Rome expressed his joy at being able to recognize one another as "united by one Baptism, of which our common prayer is a special expression that looks forward to the day when, in fulfilment of the Lord's desire, we will be able to drink together from the one cup." Aware that the path to be traversed is still long, the Holy Father noted some of its milestones, such as Pope Shenouda's meeting in Cairo with Blessed John Paul II in February of 2000. John Paul II, who was on pilgrimage to the places where our faith originated, expressed his conviction that "—with the guidance of the Holy Spirit—our persevering prayer, our dialogue and the will to build communion day by day in mutual love will allow us to take important further steps towards full unity."

The Pope also thanked the Patriarch for his care toward the Coptic Catholic Church that has been expressed, among other things, in the

establishment of a "National Council of Christian Churches". This undertaking "represents an important sign of the will of all believers in Christ to develop relations in daily life that are increasingly fraternal and to put themselves at the service of the whole of Egyptian society, of which they form an integral part. Let me assure Your Holiness," Pope Francis added, "that your efforts to build communion among believers in Christ, and your lively interest in the future of your country and the role of the Christian communities within Egyptian society find a deep echo in the heart of the Successor of Peter and of the entire Catholic community."

"If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honoured, all rejoice together'. This is a law of Christian life, and in this sense we can say that there is also an ecumenism of suffering: just as the blood of the martyrs was a seed of strength and fertility for the Church, so too the sharing of daily sufferings can become an effective instrument of unity. This also applies, in a certain sense, to the broader context of society and relations between Christians and non-Christians: from shared suffering can blossom forth—with God's help—forgiveness, reconciliation, and peace."

Society of St John Chrysostom
The Christopher Morris Lecture 2012
Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Family, Duke Street, London W.1

Culture and Mission in Eastern and Western Catholicism
Can Bishops Represent Cultures rather than Territories?

The Revd Professor Allen Brent, DD (Cantab)

Both our Churches, on either side of the Great Schism that began with the mutual excommunication of Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Cerularius in 1054, rest upon a view of hierarchy that is fundamentally territorial. In the Western Church at least, each bishop has his own circumscribed territory. How that notion was to be given constitutional teeth by St Cyprian in terms of his secular and pagan background in Roman constitutional theory is something upon which I will touch later. But a territorial hierarchy is precisely what we have now, having assumed its final form in the Western, English Church with the parochial system attributed probably erroneously to Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (AD 602-690).

We have here embodied side-by- side two distinct theological claims, and the distinction is a logical one. The first claim is the claim of Classic Christian Theology from at least Ignatius of Antioch, one version of which might be expressed thus:

1. To be a member of the body of Christ that exists concretely in time and space as a divine society one must be in communion with a priest who is in communion with a bishop who is in communion with his fellow bishops in a fellowship that extends throughout the world.

Another version is that of Irenaeus of Lyons, namely that there is a succession of authorized teachers inaugurated by the Apostles, and that the faithful must be in communion with the churches over which those authorized successors preside, who supported by the charism of teaching, preserve orthodox doctrine. But there is a second claim that adds a territorial dimension to orthodoxy, namely

2. But that communion and intercommunion involves every bishop with a diocese and every priest with a parish having a territorial space whose limits are geographically definable.

One must not stray from the parish boundaries; you must, if a layman, attend your spatially bounded Church through which ultimately you are at one with the bishop of your defined, larger, geographical diocesan area. That bishop is in communion with the bishops of all other geographical diocesan areas throughout

the world.

But what impressed me as early as my first excursus into history and theology in Cultural Episcopacy and Ecumenism was how ideological this geographical dimension has become.[1] The visible church, and one's membership of it, though they are events in time and space, existing in time and space can take place without consignment to one particular geographical area, yet our received theology of Church Order implies the necessity of the geographical dimension.

And indeed the lived experience of the Church shows something else to be required. Various kinds of ecclesial configurations have taken and are taking place within the Church, that is the one body of Christ, that defy territorial classification. I began with my reflections on such other configurations when as an Anglican minister/deacon I entered the Townsville General Hospital in North Queensland, Australia to visit my Anglican bishop in intensive care having endured a triple by-pass operation. He saw me coming, sat bolt upright, which alarmingly caused the machine to which he was attached to register several increased systolic heartbeats. He then said 'Allen, have you ever thought about how we could integrate Aboriginal and Islander ministries.'

Here was to begin my reflections on episcopacy and Ignatius of Antioch, some themes on which I will touch upon later.[2] But the problem as it faced us was how could we create indigenous bishops of Aboriginal and Islander cultures that were extra-territorial- that could not be located within a defined geographical domain but which would extend over large areas of Australia and many, different Western, diocesan territories. Why, indeed, many asked of us, was it necessary to set up such a structure at all? The answer I had well learned from my Australian experience, at my ordination service when I became an Anglican minister, a deacon. The Torres Straits Islander congregation in Townsville showed up in force on that occasion.

They sang an Islander setting of the *Sanctus*, with its strange rhythm and strange vocal tones. And I was moved to tears, not because aesthetically it was not strange and even alien, but by this thought. Despite all the wrongs of the original European settlement and occupation, despite the brutality, the murders, the denial of justice and even humanity by many whites settlers, indeed the majority, they had come to Christ. Despite everything that we had done, they had found him. They had responded to the gospel that the missionaries had

[1] Allen Brent, *Cultural Episcopacy and Ecumenism: Representative ministry in church history from the Age of Ignatius of Antioch to the Reformation, with special reference to contemporary ecumenism,* (Studies in Christian Mission 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill 1992).

[2] Allen Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch: a martyr bishop and the origin of episcopacy,* (London: Continuum, 2007).

proclaimed. They, like the Magi from the East, had seen the star and come to worship Jesus Christ, the light of the nations.

But more was to follow. Fierce debates ensued about creating the possibility bishops of cultures rather than of territories, despite much Catholic Jesuit discussion at the time of the concept of incarnation in a culture, particularly in connection with the liturgies of indigenous peoples.[3] And at the time of the debate began a series of what were known as the 'Yarrabah miracles,' reported from the Australian, Aboriginal reserve in North Queensland. Two Aboriginal children, aged seven and eight respectively, were playing a typical children's game. They mixed some coloured paints together, spread it over a large leaf, placed another on top, and then pulled the leaves apart. There in the combination of the two leaves emerged a face, the face of a crowned Christ they said, on the 'day that King Jesus came to Yarrabah.' There followed a number of claimed visions by individual Aborigines in the Yarrabah community, usually by moonlight, in which the branches of trees seemed contorted to express a human face.

There arose, as one can imagine, a high degree of scepticism in the European Christian community. Indeed, as a practicing and fully paid up academic, I began pointing out how like the phenomenon of medieval miracles this all was. Miracles tended to coincide miraculously, if you will forgive the pun, in controversies connected to various controversial projects advocated by various political interests, like Aboriginal bishops. The accounts of the miracles, the stories, indeed seemed like an 'idle tale', like those tales told by a group of illiterate women and others about events at a tomb in a garden, by a lakeside, or on an open road. But this they told us that this is what they had seen and this we believed.

But the academic discussion and my own rhetoric in one way missed the point of the child's portrait of 'King Jesus,' and what it had expressed. The portrait was not to Western, European eyes a beautiful one, there was not much aesthetic pleasure in viewing it. But the Christ it presented was an Aboriginal Christ, a Christ who appeared bearing the flesh and blood of redeemed Aboriginal humanity. The concept of Incarnation in a culture implies something too of the shape of the cultural experience of the gospel and its musical and liturgical expression, the development of a distinctive ritual and iconography that goes with it, and so on. But given such a development, how can such an experience, such a patrimony, continue to flourish and to develop within the unity of the Church, in a way that was integral to the past experiences of others in

[3] R.K. Seasoltz, *New Liturgy, New Laws* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press 1980), and A.J. Chupungco, *Towards a Philippino Liturgy* (Manila 1976).

the community of faith, in the one communion and fellowship that is the Catholic Church?

The answer for the Anglican, that I then was, was simple. The justification was that episcopal oversight was oversight primarily over a rite practiced by a people whose identity was defined culturally and not territorially: the bishop's authority was authority to tend that rite, to oversee its celebration and development in continuity with the Catholic Faith. How was unity to be maintained however between different Catholic cultures throughout the world, each with its own distinctive episcopal oversight, but often within the same territory?

The answer seemed so straightforward then, within the Anglican Church of Australia. The year the project was launched to create Anglican, Aboriginal and Islander episcopates in Australia was in 1984. The final ARCIC Report had appeared in 1981. Each cultural bishop would superintend his own, extra-territorial rite, but there would exist between them a bond of mutual intercommunion that Cyprian had described.

Each bishop would recognise the life, doctrine and worship of the other, and receive each other, as in the Early Church, by something like the interchange of letters approving each other's consecration. Thus each cultural expression of the Catholic Faith would be mutually recognised by superintending bishops, meeting together from time to time in council to foster agreement and mutual recognition. The bond between them, as ARCIC had stated, would be a *koinōnia*, a fellowship: we would not do apart what we could not do together on any fundamental issue of faith.

Of course ARCIC had also spoken of the bishop of Rome at the centre of the interconnecting web of inter communing bishops, with a Pastoral ministry of fostering the *vinculum caritatis*, as Cyprian had expounded it.[4] I smiled smugly at the suggestion. 'Yes, of course, I could sign up to such a pastoral primacy for the episcopal *collegium*, as Cyprian had acknowledged in his nascent musings on Cornelius and the Petrine primacy.' But it would all prove superfluous and unnecessary. Bishops would, by their formation for their office, by their theological education, indeed by the grace of their consecration, never consent to anything apart that they could not do together.

You can therefore see why, when subsequently Anglican bishops in their different dioceses proceeded to do apart what we could not do together on issues ranging from women's ordination, same sex weddings, or more pertinently, the culture of death that for me it was the end of the road. I read the appeal of our Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI in the Apostolic Constitution, *Anglicanorum*

[4] For a fuller discussion, see Allen Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage* (Cambridge: University Press 2010).

Coetibus, to return to the unity of the Church and I, as a Western Christian, responded, seeing the fulfilment not only of my own dreams, but of those of Newman and the Oxford Movement.

Bishops could preside over cultures and not territories, but the unity of the Church and with it an end to the fragmentation of Christian identity could only for me exist, in the Church that Christ founded, if there had been granted a special, Pastoral ministry, with all the divine authority that that would entail, to secure *koinōnia*. I appreciate that there is a fundamental difference of view here with our sister Church, the Eastern Orthodox communion with its communities, who share with us the fullness of sacramental grace. There, as Bishop John Zizioulas, Orthodox Metropolitan of Pergamon, pointed out to the Lambeth Conference in 1989, that a Church without a central authority had to achieve as a communion almost universal consensus for fundamental change if it were to maintain any unity at all.

As such of course John Zizioulas was continuing his brilliant analysis of Order as seen from the perspective of Eastern Orthodoxy. He had, obviously, criticised previously Nikolai Afanassief's understanding of the unity of the Church as overly congregational and insufficiently episcopal in its emphasis. But his understanding of Church Order as located with the bishop as its center lead him to regard the bishop primarily as the president of the Divine Liturgy and the Eucharistic community, not of a distinct territory.[5] And I suppose his advice to me would have been to have persisted with my faith in episcopal intercommunion based upon an agreed consensus on faith and morals as the divinely constituted means to preserve the integrity of Christian identity through so many diverse cultural forms that Christianity could assume. But alas respect for universal tradition developing only by holding the unity of Church through the unity of the episcopate was not a concept that Anglicanism could embrace. Rather Anglicanism insisted that a democratic majority in its Synods must always prevail, even in the teeth of what Archbishops exhorted, even if not as their own individual convictions, but as necessary for the unity of the communion.

Nevertheless, what I had advocated regarding Aboriginal and Islander bishops of cultures rather than of territories, the role of each being superintendence of a rite shaped by incarnation in a culture, had a broader theological justification that licensed in a strange way actual, Western practice. Even though the Catholic Church, whose center is the Holy See above and

[5] John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir Seminary Press, 1997); *Eucharist, Bishop, Church: The Unity of the Church in the Divine Eucharist and the Bishop During the First Three Centuries* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross, 2001).

beyond the individual bishop, is clearly wedded to the concept of episcopacy implying territorial jurisdiction, often in practice the territorial character of that jurisdiction has to rest upon a fiction. Look, for example, at the concept of *episcopi in partibus*.

A cynic might say that we have here a number of officials who are in fact Vatican bureaucrats in pastoral charge of filing cabinets but who need to be given episcopal rank and dignity. They are validly consecrated and have episcopal orders. They may protest, with considerable justification, that they are not simply pastors of filing cabinets: they preside over important departments conducting dialogue with other Christians, with the world religions, with academies influencing areas of professional ethics and so on. They are concerned with Christ's presence in the world and superintend understanding of the various human approaches to human life and society and how the incarnation transforms those areas. But they have no territory. They have to be given nonetheless fictional territorial titles of dioceses that they may never visit and with no souls for whom to have the *cura* that they commit to their priests. This also applies of course to auxiliary bishops, who have areas of care but no jurisdiction.

In connection with Religious Orders, or indeed my own Personal Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham and the Blessed John Henry Newman, the issue of territorial jurisdiction becomes even more complex, to say the least, or perhaps gives rise the conflicting principles. My faculties, like those of a member of any other Religious Order or Ordinariate, come from my Ordinary and not from the Bishop of East Anglia in whose diocese at St Edmund's college I am privileged to preside, at present as Acting Dean. I require the consent of the geographical bishop to so act within his boundaries, but my authority as a Catholic Priest comes from the Holy See via my Ordinary. With my position at Fisher House there is even more of a complication since here episcopal responsibility is to Bishop John Arnold, Auxiliary of Westminster. Like all other Cambridge and Oxford Chaplains, or in my case, assistant chaplains, I am under the immediate Jurisdiction of an auxiliary Bishop of Westminster and not under the bishop whose territorial jurisdiction is within the geographical boundaries of the Diocese of East Anglia.

It seems thus that issues of culture and patrimony, of academic mission and ethos, of distinctive and holy styles of religious life defy the territorial matrix, and supply other configurations of episcopal presidency that have more to do with cultural orientation that geographical territory.

So from where has this framework of set diocesan, territorial boundaries and jurisdiction come as the *esse* of Episcopal Order?

There is one, obvious, ideological second century origin in versions of a legend propounded by Origen (185-254) in his *Commentary on Genesis* and coming originally from the roughly contemporary *Acts of Thomas*, an apocryphal

book relating Thomas' adventures as a missionary in India. That book states that Jesus' original eleven disciples 'divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him.' The book tells how the apostles drew lots to divide up the world for their missionary work, and India fell to Thomas. Peter, for example, took Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, and at 'the last came to Rome, and was crucified head-downwards; for he requested that he might suffer thus.' John was given Asia.

Thus the Apostles divided up the world geographically, and thus those whom the ordained as their successors who are now the bishops have, it can be argued, *iure divino* a jurisdictional territory linked inextricably with other authenticating features of their office and ministry. But that conclusion is not drawn in the *Acts of Thomas* or by Origen, whose account is about the history of places where the Apostles became martyrs and not about legitimating their ecclesial authority.

The real origin of the geographical dimension as necessary to Catholic Order we shall see was St Cyprian, who developed the nascent theology of Church Order that he had inherited partly and superficially from Ignatius of Antioch but more definitively from St Irenaeus and Pseudo St Hippolytus.

My account of both St Ignatius of Antioch from the East, and St Cyprian from the West, with the Eastern Hippolytan community in early Third century Rome proceeds something like as follows:

For each of these four Church Fathers, the Church cannot be simply a spiritual entity that individuals join by simply feeling that they all share the same membership of some non-physical, otherworldly entity. Such a view would be highly Gnostic and deny the significance of a human existence in time and space. It would deny the resurrection of the body and our affirmation that we are redeemed 'body and soul unto everlasting life.' Ultimately it would deny the Incarnation, the word made flesh with a real existence in time and space and history. For the Church to be truly the Body of Christ it must have a physical form enduring through space and time: the body of Christ cannot be purely spiritual as the Docetists claimed about the body of the Jesus of history.

And thus the Eastern Father, St. Ignatius of Antioch was to make his great claim that for the body of Christ to exist physically in space and time the structure of any society that could be 'called' or 'summoned' as a Church must reflect the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Thus the structure of the church is, if you like, a hierarchy of bishop, priests, and deacons: to submit to the threefold Order is to become physically as well as spiritually, body as well as soul, part of the body of Christ concretely existing in space and in time.

> Be eager to be confirmed in the teachings of the Lord and of the apostles ... together with your worthily esteemed bishop, and the worthily woven spiritually garlanded presbyterate, and of the deacons according to God. Be subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father, according to the flesh, and the apostles to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Spirit; that so there may be a union both fleshly and spiritual.
>
> *Magnesians* 13.1-2

The continuing ministry of the Father bishop who sends the diaconal Son to a laity in process of redemption, surrounded by the encircling seats of the presbytery as the spirit filled 'council of the apostles' constitutes the Church as the vehicle of salvation, as the concrete means of achieving union with God and thus incorruptibility and immortality. To be a Christian means to be part of the body of Christ and to be part of the body of Christ means to be in communion with a society hierarchically structured in an iconography expressing the redemptive acts of the triune God.

An Ignatian bishop is emphatically the sacral representative of a community in process of redemption; and, because the community exists in time and space, it will necessarily, I have added, assume a cultural form with its own traditions of spirituality or patrimony. But it is important to view the Ignatian bishop as representative of a community in process of redemption. The Ignatian iconography may at first appear to suggest otherwise in the following two well-known passages:

> Likewise let all revere the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they do the bishop who is the image of the Father, and the presbyters as God's council and as a band of apostles: without these a church cannot be summoned.
>
> Ignatius, *Trallians,* 3.1. See also *Philadelphians,* 5.1.

At first sight it might appear that we have here bishop, priests, and deacons engaged in a drama of replay that proclaims the message of salvation to those who need to hear it. Ignatius' drama of the Eucharist as a replay of the events of the resurrection in the Upper Room of the Johannine Pentecost seems clear.

In John 20:18-19 the risen Christ comes to the disciples (Ignatius calls these 'apostles') and 'breathes into them' the Holy Spirit. For Ignatius 'the Lord received anointment on his head so that he might breathe incorruption on the Church:

> For this cause the Lord received anointing on his head that he might breathe incorruption upon the Church.
>
> Ignatius, *Ephesians*, 17.1.

So the liturgy as a drama of replay might be seen to consist of a horseshoe circle of presbyters around the centrally seated, pre-eminent Father Bishop. They are the 'worthily woven spiritually garlanded presbyterate , because they represent the Spirit filled apostles at the Johannnine Pentecost: the presbyters are the 'council ... of the apostles'. Jesus at the Johannine Pentecost (20:18) says before the insufflation 'As the Father has sent me, so send I you, receive the Holy Spirit. And having said this, 'he breathed into them...' etc.

The seated and pre-eminent Father Bishop 'creates an image of the Father, as he sends the Deacons with the ministry of Jesus Christ to the people to receive their offerings and bring them back for consecration by the Father Bishop. Jesus Christ, after all, proceeded from the one and returned to him, just as the Magnesians were to do in their liturgical assembly:

> All run together, as to one temple-shrine of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who processed from the one Father, and who was with the one and returned back to him.
>
> Ignatius, *Magnesians,* 7.2

Thus for Ignatius the Christian mysteries represent a re-enactment of the mystery drama of the Christian cult.

But as such, we cannot simply regard the Eucharistic gathering as a kind of evangelical Gospel picture intended to bring the unconverted to Christ. By participating in the drama of a mystery cult you became the figures whose roles you were acting. As a result, Ignatius teaches us, I believe, that the threefold Order is the sign of a community of faith in process of redemption. This is why when he receives episcopal visitors he claims to see mystically in them, by a kind of mystical interchange between them, the whole company of believers who participate with him in the Eucharistic drama of replay. As he says to the Magnesians:

> Since therefore in the aforementioned persons I have by faith seen your whole community in faith and loved it, I exhort you, be eager to do all things in God's concord with the bishop presiding as an image of God and the presbyters as an image of the council of the apostles, and of the deacons... entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ.
>
> Ignatius, *Magnesians,* 6.1.

The object of the picture lesson in the Eucharistic re-enactment of the Father bishop sending the diaconal Son, etc., is not the faithful nor even unbelievers but the daemonic powers:

> You are fellow initiates of Paul who was sanctified ... Be anxious therefore to assemble frequently for the Eucharist of God and his glory, for when you more frequently meet as a Church, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his destruction is undone in the concord of your faith.

Ignatius, *Ephesians*, 12.2–13.1.

We see therefore that for Ignatius the threefold hierarchy is a sacral representation of a community in process of redemption, and as such will have a cultural form since any society existing in time and space will by its very nature have such a form.

There is in Ignatius no concept of apostolic succession in a chain of bishops running throughout secular history, as there is in St Irenaeus later.

St Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, who came to Rome in the late eighties of the Second Century, speaks of a succession of bishops throughout the world, whose succession lists could be compiled but he will compile one only, that for Rome as an illustration of the principle. But what principle? Not the principle of one bishop within a defined territorial boundary for he says nothing of the boundaries of episcopal territories. He will say nothing of each bishop receiving each other into one, world-wide communion. Rather, like Hegesippus, he believes that the unity is a unity of teaching: that each bishop in succession to the apostles teaches both what the apostles taught and that which each of them continue to teach. As the Eusebean fragment states, Hegesippus claimed that:

> On my arrival at Rome, I composed a succession list (*diadoxēn epoiēsamēn*) down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him *came* Eleutherus. But in the case of every succession and in every city, the state of affairs is in accordance with the teaching of the Law and of the Prophets and of the Lord... [6]

I translate here *diadoxēn epoiēsamēn* as 'I composed a succession list' though I take von Campenhausen's point that it could simply mean 'I established a succession of teaching,' that is to say, each bishop had taught in accordance with 'the Law, the prophets, and the Lord.' But, I repeat, there are no territorial boundaries for each episcopal ministry, simply the fact of identity of teaching between them with an identical history going back to identical apostles.

Similarly, with Tertullian, the test of the validity of a church was similarly clear resemblance of doctrine between apostolic successors:

[6] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.22.1-9.

> This is the test which can be demanded from those churches which cannot historically claim as a founder either an apostle or an apostolic man because they were founded later and even still today. They should be regarded no less as apostolic churches when they agree in the same faith because of a kinship in doctrine (*pro consanguinitate doctrinae*). Thus all the heretics are challenged by our churches to submit to both kinds of test and must show the one by which they can think that they are apostolic. But so much are they not apostolic nor can they provide evidence for what they are not that they are not received into the peace and communion by churches that are in either way apostolic on the grounds that they are in neither way apostolic due to the diversity of their deposit (*ob diversitatem sacramenti*).
>
> *De Praes. Haer.* 32

It is once again resemblance, or 'family-resemblance' of doctrine, *consanguinitas doctrinae* that is the test.

So, before Cyprian, there is no notion of Church Order being located in terms of a number of geographically bounded, episcopal territories. Even, as we have seen, in the *Acts of Thomas*, the allocation of geographical territories to the twelve apostles was the allocation of missionary areas as a background to their hagiography and circumstances of their martyrdoms: it was not part of a theory or doctrine of Church Order as such.

So in conclusion we come to Cyprian, in whose writings we find for the first time the notion of territorially bounded jurisdiction as part of the *esse* of Church Order, as we shall see. Interestingly we note a difference of perspective in Eastern Christianity from Western Christianity so far. For Ignatius the *esse* of Order is its iconographic function: bishop, priests, and deacons ground in time the eternal realities by expressing them iconographically in the drama of replay. Significantly, in one of the passages that I quoted earlier, when Ignatius said that in bishop Damas of Tralles and his companions he had seen by faith their whole community, he called them *prosōpa* which can of course be translated 'persons,' as it usually is, but it can also mean an actor's mask. The Western tradition is by contrast jurisdictional, but - in Irenaeus, Hegesippus, and Tertullian - not in terms of a jurisdiction over territory. Rather for Irenaeus the jurisdiction is the right to teach of the president of a philosophical school, a right to continuing teaching what his predecessors taught back to the apostles or the *sophoi* of the mythic Greek past of whom Diogenes Laertius speaks.[7]

But Cyprian does appear to know this iconographical approach to Order as well as the jurisdictional one that he is to redefine in territorial terms. For him, as

[7] See, Allen Brent, Diogenes Laertios and the Apostolic Succession, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44.3 (1993), p. 367-389.

for Ignatius, the Eucharist is a drama of replay, though not in Ignatius' more profound and mystical sense. For Cyprian a priest at the Eucharist must imitate precisely what Christ did at the Last Supper. Cyprian argues against those who wished for a Eucharist using water alone:

> You are aware that we have been exhorted to preserve the traditional practice of the Lord when we offer the sacrifice using the chalice. We should do no other thing than that which our Lord first did on our behalf. In consequence, the chalice that is offered in memory of him should be offered mixed with wine. ... For if we should only follow Christ in the sacrifice that Christ has offered, it becomes certain that we should obey and do that which Christ did, and what he commanded was to be done.... Since we make mention of his Passion in every sacrifice that we make—for it is the sacrifice of the Lord that we offer—we ought to do nothing other than what he did. Scripture states that as often as we offer the chalice in remembrance of the Lord and his Passion, we are doing that which it is established that the Lord had done.
>
> *Epistulae*, 63. 2.1; 14.1; 17.1

His words are fascinating to a historian, in a highly tantalizing fashion. The background sources are lost that would enable us to trace the priest-bishop as an icon of Christ in St. Ignatius in the Greek East, though he is firmly in the Latin West.

There is one figure that chronologically precedes Cyprian in the Latin West, and is chronologically after both St. Ignatius and St Irenaeus. There was, represented by the Hippolytan corpus of works, a congregation in Rome in the first decades of the third century that represented an Eastern tradition, with three writers, two of whom are anonymous and one named Hippolytus. Two works, the Pseudo-Hippolytan *Refutation of All Heresies*, and the anonymous *Egyptian Church Order* published in modern times with the title *Apostolic Tradition*, the *Apostolikē paradōsis*, are taken from a title of a list of works on a statue reconstructed in the sixteenth century as that of Hippolytus. According to both these works, bishops share in both the high priesthood and in the apostolic succession. In Pseudo Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, proem. 6 the author claims that bishops are 'successors (*diadoxoi*)' of the apostles who 'share in the same grace and high priesthood and teaching. *Traditio Apostolica* combines Aaronic and Mosaic images of the episcopal and presbyteral offices, but bishops (c. 3) both 'ordain priests and exercise the high priesthood blamelessly' with the 'high priestly spirit.'

Thus Eastern and Western influences are confluent in the Rome of the mid third century, and it seems that the priest as icon of Christ at the altar is a theological concept beginning with Cyprian to penetrate the Western mind.

But, I have argued elsewhere in greater detail, it is with Cyprian that an argument about the territorial requirements of episcopal jurisdiction now enter the theology of ecclesial Order.[8]

But why was not for Cyprian the very rich confluence of Eastern and Western themes of ministers as icons of the sacred and of bishops as teaching successors to the apostles reflecting their life and teaching, and possessing the grace given for them? Why did territory rather than a teaching school attach itself necessarily to the concept of ecclesial Order?

The reason was, I believe, the Novatian schism.

Novatian had been ordained bishop of a rigorist group that rejected anyone who had apostatised by sacrificing to the gods of the Roman state, the required act of allegiance required by the Edict of the Emperor Decius. No absolution could be given, and such a person was excommunicated for life, and received back perhaps only on their deathbed. In consequence, Novatian had been ordained bishop of Rome against pope Cornelius, who claimed instead the bishop's chair.

Now why was Novatian's ordination invalid, according to the Ignatian or Irenaean-Hippolytan schema? Novatian was theologically orthodox, he was in the apostolic succession and his doctrine reflected what they had taught. Novatian, who wrote the first Latin book *De Trinitate*, could hardly be said to be in the succession of heretics whose line went back to Greek philosophy and not to the apostles. He and his followers could be criticised on moral grounds, lack of Christian love that is the bond of unity etc., and Cyprian will most certain engage in such a criticism in high relief. But was that enough to deny the validity of his ordination? Novatian too at the Eucharist no doubt did what Christ did, and so validly offered the Eucharistic sacrifice, as Cyprian describes any valid priest as doing. So how could Cyprian declare that Novatian's ordination was fake and worthless?

Cyprian had to allow his secular formation in Roman Law and jurisprudence, *pagan* Roman Law and jurisprudence, to now furnish him with a model of Church Order that would allow him to declare invalid Novatian's ordination. According to Roman jurisprudence, at least in the Republican period, political authority such as that wielded by magistrates with *imperium* was spatially bounded. The magistrate with *imperium* sat upon his curial chair and exercised ultimate power within a sphere with a boundary, like the city of Rome with its *pomerium*. The boundary had to be ritually cleansed by means of a *suotaurovilia* sacrifice, a sacrifice together of a boar, a bull and a ram. Thus to violate the boundaries of a magistrate's legitimate power was not simply treason and rebellion against constitutional authority, it was also an act of sacrilege

[8] Brent, *Cyprian*, chapter 2.

against the divinely ordered structure of political society.

The famous example of this constitutional principle was when Julius Caesar, pro-consul of Gaul and of other provinces, crossed the Rubicon. At that point he ceased to be the governor of a province with constitutional *imperium* and became a 'rebel', and 'enemy (*inimicus*)' of the Roman state. And this is just the language that Cyprian uses of Novatian and his followers for having him ordained as a rival bishop to Cornelius. Novatian was invading the sacred, constitutional space as an enemy (*hostis*), and an invader (*invasor*) committing treason (*perfidia*). Indeed Cyprian will speak of his diocese as 'our province (*nostra provincia*).'

It matters not that both Cornelius and Novatian could represent Christ iconographically at the Eucharist, it mattered not that they both avowed the same apostolic faith and could claim the same episcopal succession from the apostles. If Cornelius sits in the bishop's chair, then he presides over a sacred space that is his diocese and any claimant to that chair becomes an imposter, a counterfeit, an invader committing treason and treachery.

> On what grounds therefore do we think that Novatian ought not to have done what he is daring to do? Why indeed does he? Simply because Novatian has taken possession of, on his own initiative, his position on the Chair of a sacred bishop, why ought we to renounce our Chair?
>
> Cyprian, *Epistulae,* LXXIII.2.3 (37–40).

Cornelius already occupied that territorially bounded space defining the extent of his imperium, his *provincia*:

> Cornelius was appointed bishop … when no one had been created bishop before him, when the place occupied by Fabian, that is to say when the position of Peter, the rank to which the sacred Chair gave entitlement (*et gradus cathedrae sacerdotalis*) was unoccupied. Once however it was filled, and confirmed by the will of God and the consent of us all, anyone who wished to be made a bishop could necessarily only be made so *outside* (*foris*) the Church. He who does not hold to the unity of this single number has not the Church's ordination (*ordinatio*). Whosever this man may be, and granted that he will boast much of himself and even more justify himself, he is outside the sacred precinct (*profanus*) and he is a foreigner, he is on the outside (*foris*). And since after the first there cannot be a second appointment, whoever is created after the first one (of necessity the only one!) is not really the second one but no one at all.
>
> Cyprian, *Epistulae,* LV.8.4 (133); 8.5.136–45.

Thus of Felicissimus Cyprian will say:

> God is one and Christ is one, and there is one church and one Chair founded on Peter by the pronouncement of the Lord. For another altar to be established or a new priesthood (*sacerdotium*) to be created in addition to the one altar and the one priesthood is not to be … it is an act of counterfeiting (*adulterum est*), it is impiety (*impium*), it is sacrilege (*sacrilegum*), to violate a divine constitution (*dispositio diuina*) with what comes from human frenzy.
>
> Cyprian, *Epistulae,* XLIII.5.2 (89–94).

It is here, therefore, in Cyprian that ecclesial Order becomes for the first time structured within the matrix of pagan, Roman jurisprudence with its spatially located notions of legitimation and power.

Constantinople and Byzantium was of course to follow suit, as the New Rome to which the old empire had been transferred, and territorial jurisdiction entered into the concept of episcopal Order with which it continues to appear to be inextricably connected. But the question that I would wish to pose is what ecclesial order might be like if one were to recover features distorted by the territorial mold into which Ignatian Church Order has been poured. This is why I would like us to take a closer and fresher look at the Eastern idea of bishop, priest and deacons representing an iconography of divine order, and with different cultural forms representing different cultures in process of redemption.

Of course as a Catholic priest I am committed to a wider unity and confluence of such cultures in process of redemption. But not in terms of treaty bonds between their supreme episcopal presidents, but in terms of a unity and an integrity fashioned by the Petrine ministry of the Holy Father, a pastoral ministry of securing unity in diversity of the whole, fostering *koinōnia.*

It is such a proposal for discussion that I seek to lay on the table of the Academy, and of the ordinary magisterium of the Catholic Church to which I am subject.

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"My brother Andrew"

Fr Mark Woodruff

Pope John Paul II with Œcumenical Patriarch Demetrios II

When Benedict XVI resigned, Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople expressed more than surprise. There was a clear tinge of dismay that their "excellent cooperation", which had overseen the re-engagement of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in dialogue in 2007, after an impasse lasting seven years, might not fulfil its promise because of a "brief papacy". Orthodox patriarchs do not retire. The Roman pontiff is still regarded as the first of the patriarchs by Orthodoxy, even if Pope Benedict dropped the title as defunct, standing in the way of realistic ecumenism. So why should a pope retire when urgent in reach? "With his wisdom and re to the Church and the world".

The Ecumenical Patriarch is the senior, but not the ruling, leader of the world's Orthodox Churches. He is second only in the Universal Church to the Bishop of Rome, but he is not an opposite number, having no immediate jurisdiction beyond his small community in Turkey and parts of north-east Greece. For wider leadership he relies as much on persuasion, prestige and moral authority as canon law. With painstaking plans for a Pan-Orthodox Council making progress, and an abiding sense of affinity between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches as both are dispersed alongside each other in every corner of the globe, Bartholomew invested much hope in Benedict's papacy for mutual support and cooperation in the contemporary setting. Concerned for all Orthodox in diaspora, the continued growth of Christianity in Europe and the very survival of the Churches in their Eastern lands of origin, their joint efforts at solidarity and even communion appeared at risk with the prospect of a new leader.

Thus the Patriarchate explained Bartholomew's decision to attend Pope Francis' inauguration personally: the need for "a profoundly bold step ... that could have lasting significance". It is the first time the Bishop of Constantinople has attended the inauguration of the Bishop of Rome ever, let alone since the great schism of 1054. Yet the Patriarch has already visited Rome a number of times since Pope Benedict's visit to Istanbul in 2006. He was the only ecumenical leader invited to make a speech at the celebrations for the 50th anniversary of Vatican II and he is customarily accorded a seat of higher rank than any other visitor whenever he comes to St Peter's. But this visit was different: "after such a long division ... authentic reunion will require courage, leadership and humility. Given Pope Francis' well-documented work for social justice and his insistence that globalization is detrimental to the poor ... the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic traditions have a renewed opportunity to work collectively on issues of mutual concern... But such work requires a first step and it would appear as though Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew is willing to take such a step." In one of those seemingly informal but resonant gestures that we are beginning to expect from Francis, the response was immediate and commensurate. The successor of Peter greeted the successor of the other Galilean fisherman as "my brother Andrew".

Another dimension was revealed within hours of Francis' election by Patriarch Sviatoslav, Major-Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, by far the largest of the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome, which shares the same origins as the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the same Byzantine Rite and tradition as the Church of Constantinople itself. He revealed that, while a student in Rome, a young Fr Borgoglio frequently attended the Divine Liturgy served by the saintly Fr Stepan Chmil, a mentor to him, at the Ukrainian Church. "The Holy Father knows not only of our Church, but also our liturgy, our rites, and our spirituality". Furthermore, as Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Jorge Maria Borgoglio was Ordinary for Eastern Catholics. In 2009 Sviatoslav arrived as the auxiliary bishop for the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy in Argentina and tells how his first steps in episcopal ministry were under the Cardinal's watchful care. They have an even closer bond now, because a year later Sviatoslav was called upon to succeed his revered mentor Patriarch Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, who retired like Pope Benedict has done. At the age of 41, his election boldly charts a new course for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in service of wider society and the unity of churches at home and abroad for decades to come. Pope Francis will be looking East to a dynamic former protégé for inspiration and encouragement as he charts his own new course.

Whether it concerns a renewed partnership with the historic Eastern Catholic Churches, or forging new bonds hopefully leading to communion with the Orthodox, the model for Pope Francis's understanding of the Christian East,

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Pope John Paul II with Œcumenical Patriarch Demetrios II

When Benedict XVI resigned, Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople expressed more than surprise. There was a clear tinge of dismay that their "excellent cooperation", which had overseen the re-engagement of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in dialogue in 2007, after an impasse lasting seven years, might not fulfil its promise because of a "brief papacy". Orthodox patriarchs do not retire. The Roman pontiff is still regarded as the first of the patriarchs by Orthodoxy, even if Pope Benedict dropped the title as defunct, standing in the way of realistic ecumenism. So why should a pope retire when urgent in reach? "With his wisdom and re to the Church and the world".

The Ecumenical Patriarch is the senior, but not the ruling, leader of the world's Orthodox Churches. He is second only in the Universal Church to the Bishop of Rome, but he is not an opposite number, having no immediate jurisdiction beyond his small community in Turkey and parts of north-east Greece. For wider leadership he relies as much on persuasion, prestige and moral authority as canon law. With painstaking plans for a Pan-Orthodox Council making progress, and an abiding sense of affinity between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches as both are dispersed alongside each other in every corner of the globe, Bartholomew invested much hope in Benedict's papacy for mutual support and cooperation in the contemporary setting. Concerned for all Orthodox in diaspora, the continued growth of Christianity in Europe and the very survival of the Churches in their Eastern lands of origin, their joint efforts at solidarity and even communion appeared at risk with the prospect of a new leader.

Thus the Patriarchate explained Bartholomew's decision to attend Pope Francis' inauguration personally: the need for "a profoundly bold step ... that could have lasting significance". It is the first time the Bishop of Constantinople has attended the inauguration of the Bishop of Rome ever, let alone since the great schism of 1054. Yet the Patriarch has already visited Rome a number of times since Pope Benedict's visit to Istanbul in 2006. He was the only ecumenical leader invited to make a speech at the celebrations for the 50th anniversary of Vatican II and he is customarily accorded a seat of higher rank than any other visitor whenever he comes to St Peter's. But this visit was different: "after such a long division ... authentic reunion will require courage, leadership and humility. Given Pope Francis' well-documented work for social justice and his insistence that globalization is detrimental to the poor ... the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic traditions have a renewed opportunity to work collectively on issues of mutual concern... But such work requires a first step and it would appear as though Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew is willing to take such a step." In one of those seemingly informal but resonant gestures that we are beginning to expect from Francis, the response was immediate and commensurate. The successor of Peter greeted the successor of the other Galilean fisherman as "my brother Andrew".

Another dimension was revealed within hours of Francis' election by Patriarch Sviatoslav, Major-Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, by far the largest of the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome, which shares the same origins as the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the same Byzantine Rite and tradition as the Church of Constantinople itself. He revealed that, while a student in Rome, a young Fr Borgoglio frequently attended the Divine Liturgy served by the saintly Fr Stepan Chmil, a mentor to him, at the Ukrainian Church. "The Holy Father knows not only of our Church, but also our liturgy, our rites, and our spirituality". Furthermore, as Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Jorge Maria Borgoglio was Ordinary for Eastern Catholics. In 2009 Sviatoslav arrived as the auxiliary bishop for the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy in Argentina and tells how his first steps in episcopal ministry were under the Cardinal's watchful care. They have an even closer bond now, because a year later Sviatoslav was called upon to succeed his revered mentor Patriarch Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, who retired like Pope Benedict has done. At the age of 41, his election boldly charts a new course for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in service of wider society and the unity of churches at home and abroad for decades to come. Pope Francis will be looking East to a dynamic former protégé for inspiration and encouragement as he charts his own new course.

Whether it concerns a renewed partnership with the historic Eastern Catholic Churches, or forging new bonds hopefully leading to communion with the Orthodox, the model for Pope Francis's understanding of the Christian East,

unlike his predecessors, is not European. They envisaged the re-composition of the old Christendom around the reference points of the Mediterranean. But in world Christianity, Borgoglio has seen that the East is now right across the West, just as the West has suffused the lands of the East and is likewise worldwide. To talk of our respective territories is, as Benedict realised, increasingly beside the point. Anthony O'Mahoney, director of the Centre for Eastern Christianity at Heythrop College, reckons that in the UK alone there are now over 600,000 Eastern Christians, Catholic and Orthodox. But the weight of the diaspora of Eastern Churches seems to be shifting from Europe and North America to the emerging powers in the global south, notably Australia and Latin America. Here these old Churches are young and confident, able both to sustain their tradition as they also become indigenous and move beyond being simply ethnic chaplaincies. They can thus play strong roles alongside others in the work of evangelisation, spiritual renewal, ecumenical engagement and wider social development. This is what Pope Francis is used to and how he will approach the inheritors of Byzantium across Europe too, Catholic and Orthodox alike.

So, what of the Russian Orthodox Church, the largest of all? Moscow regards itself as Third Rome and the decisive player in the future of the Orthodox Church as a whole. It believes an alliance with the Catholic Church in "the struggle for the soul of Europe" is critical, but finds the universal primacy of the Roman see problematic. It sent its Head of External Relations, Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk, who did his doctorate in the West at Oxford and is regarded as a likely successor to Patriarch Kirill. The message from Moscow present and future was clear: Pope Francis was firmly addressed as "primate of the Roman Catholic Church" and as Kirill's peer. Despite progress in Orthodox-Catholic dialogue, which is seeking an agreed view on the Roman primacy in the first millennium as a basis for recovering communion, it feels out of place to the Russian Church, which was hardly around at that time, and has grown considerably since, with little awareness of the need for a universal primacy. Its present size, resources and world diaspora mean that it is no longer local but a fact of life to come to terms with, not just for the Catholic Church but other Orthodox jurisdictions too. Importantly, Russia's activity in the Middle East reanimates an Imperial role as protector of all Orthodox. Given that peace and stability for that region and its Christians will loom as large for Francis as for Benedict, because they directly affect the wellbeing of Europe, the significance of the Moscow patriarchate has to be faced.

Pope Francis' intention to trust and work with the "local Church" resonates with many Orthodox. They have long been looking for signs that the collegiality set forth at Vatican II will turn into reality. They have noted how he has called himself not supreme pontiff or pope, but Bishop of Rome. They will be looking to see how the primate of the Church "presiding in love" at Rome, will treat the

Eastern Catholic Churches: as subsets of the global Roman Catholic organisation, or as honoured churches, firmly rooted in their local homeland, yet now living side by side with Latin Catholicism's own diaspora in the emerging societies of the south and throughout the world. It will reveal how the new Pope envisages the restoration of communion between Catholics and Orthodox, since West and East must rely on each other for the future. The Orthodox will be hoping that indeed Pope Francis, Brother Peter to Brother Andrew, "knows our Church".

Fr Mark Woodruff is a Westminster priest and Vice-Chairman of the Society of St John Chrysostom, which promotes Catholic-Orthodox unity. This article appeared in The Tablet in April 2013 and is reproduced with kind permission.

Bishop, now Patriarch, Sviatoslav with the former Archbishop of Buenos Aires, now Pope Francis

The Anglican Papalist: a personal portrait of Henry Joy Fynes-Clinton

by A.T. John Salter,

published by the Anglo-Catholic History Society

ISBN 978-0-9560565-2-8 £20.00 pbk; 194pages.

Review by Fr John Hunwicke

Fr John Salter's book delivers precisely what it claims to provide; a personal account of the priest who was for half a century the dominant figure in the Papalist movement within Anglicanism, and Founder of the Catholic League. It is not a work of scholarship ... not a half-baked spin-off from a DPhil thesis; you will search in vain for the detailed footnotes of a youthful scholar covering his back. In compensation, you will find yourself personally immersed in a period and in a person both known intimately to the author.

Anglican Papalists are often written up very engagingly and with due tribute to their eccentricities – as a body of people who appeared to pretend that they were Roman Catholics and whose deep sense of obedience to authority led them to disobey every maxim of the ecclesial body which paid them (perhaps unjustly, I have felt that this is the picture which emerges from the writings of Michael Yelton). Salter does not make this mistake. He perceives the deeply doctrinal significance of Fynes-Clinton's life, and brings out what is creatively unusual in his witness. FC, for example, believed strongly that the See of Rome is the divinely appointed centre of unity; and that the decrees of the [first] Vatican Council are normative. But this in no way diminished his affection for the Orthodox East. Commonly, anti-papal Anglicans use Orthodoxy as a convenient weapon with which to attack the Papacy, while ultramontanes regard Orthodox as schismatics or worse. FC admired the Orthodox and secured their affection (and honours) by his unceasing hard work, especially for the troubled Serbian Church. But his 'Romanism' brought him into conflict with Canon J.A. Douglas and Mr Athelstan Riley and led to his removal from leadership in an Anglican-Orthodox society of which he had himself been one of the founders. FC instinctively realised the truth later to be expressed in the CDF document Communionis notio (1993): that, although 'wounded' by their separation

from Rome, the Eastern Churches are true 'particular churches'. He even planned for Hagia Sophia to be recovered from the Turks and handed over to the Orthodox rather than to Eastern Christians in communion with Rome! The little Orthodox chapel in the Anglican Shrine at Walsingham is an initiative of FC, just a few feet from the foundation stone of the Holy House, with its 'papalist' inscription (full text in Salter) which so infuriated the Bishop of Norwich. FC's balanced stance, so obviously right to our way of thinking, represented in the inter-war years a rare combination.

Of very considerable importance – and relevance to our own times – is a document which Salter prints in full. Towards the end of 1932, in anticipation of the anniversary of the Catholic Revival, FC and Fr Robert Corbould composed a manifesto to which hundreds of papalist clergy subscribed. "In the modern Anglo-catholic movement much of the enthusiasm over the observance of the centenary cloaks a marked departure from the original Oxford principles ..." The authors describe the creeping influence of Modernism in matters Christological; the growth of Relativism ("mutual toleration of opposed teaching").They disclaim the popular misconception that Catholic identity is assured "by revival of ceremony". Firmly, they "reprobate the toleration and even positive support by certain Anglo-Catholics of the immoral sanction of artificial contraception given by many bishops at Lambeth". Here are the authentic tones of S Pius X (Pascendi Dominici gregis) and the affirmation of Christian sexual mores by Pius XI (Casti conubii) and Paul VI (Humanae vitae). This manifesto anticipates by sixty years the current distinction between real Catholicism, resolutely counter-cultural, and the flaccid conformities of 'Affirming Catholicism'. Inevitably, it concludes that "the real and essential goal is reunion with the Apostolic See of Rome ... the existence of the Church of England as a body separate de facto from the rest of the Catholic Church is only tolerable when it is regarded as a temporary evil".

Salter's book is to be unambiguously commended. By its pages you will live through the days when exiled East European royalty enlivened the social life of London, and you will be reminded by the heroic figure of St Elizabeth of the New Martyrs of the Communist Yoke of Russia, alias Her Imperial Highness Grand Princess Elizaveta, that Ruritania was not entirely a land of fopperies. You will meet the mysterious, little-known figure of the Jesuit bishop Michel d'Herbigny, who flutters through the period sabotaging ecumenism, playing off Greeks against Rumanians and Serbs against Russians and Catholics against Orthodox; who attempted unsuccessfully to

infiltrate and sabotage the Malines Conversations. You may get some surprises: did you know that the Holy See was lobbying the British Government to stop Russia liberating Constantinople from the Turk and handing over Anatolia to Orthodox Hellenes? You will be shocked, I suspect, to know that Paul VI returned to the Turkish government the Ottoman flag captured at Lepanto. As our own day watches the Christian populations of Iraq and Syria being killed or driven into exile by a Western-encouraged 'Arab Spring', you may feel some sympathy with FC's rhetoric about "the black trail of the Turk ... so hateful to the Englishman sickened with the massacres of Christians in these last years". We who have been told so little about the realities of the 'Kosovo' problem, or the 'enormity' (FC's word) of the Zionist appropriation of Palestine, may gain a more rounded understanding of how so many current problems arise from this little known yet comparatively recent period of history.

Should mainstream schools give up their endless courses about Nazi Germany and adopt Salter as the text-book for a new course enabling the kiddies to understand the world they are actually living in? No ... it would be too topical and too raw ... 'Hitler' is as safely irrelevant a syllabus as the Wars of the Roses.

The Icon of Mary Mother of God, Mother of the Church and the Israeli separation wall

by Ian Knowles

In October 2011 I met with a couple of Israeli academics from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Anthropologists, they wanted to interview me about the icon of Our Lady that I had written on the Israeli separation wall near the Rachel's Tomb checkpoint from Bethlehem to Jerusalem. One was an Islamic specialist, the other was researching local places where the Virgin Mary was, and I quote, 'worshipped'. They gave me a fascinating tour around parts of the old city of Jerusalem, fed me apple strudel at the Austrian hospice, and then asked if they could record our interview. Their questions were as much about who had commissioned it, and which cleric was responsible for it. They had the impression it hds been erected as an alternative pilgrimage destination for those Palestinian Christians unable to reach Jerusalem because of the wall. They seemed concerned that it was a political act, some sort of provocative declaration against Israel and its need for self-defence. Its religious meaning didn't seem to interest them apart from as a cult object. I guess that is the best you can expect when talking to a secular anthropologist!

In order to understand the icon's real meaning, we need to go back exactly a year earlier, to October 2010, when Pope Benedict convened a special Synod of Bishops of the Middle East in response to the worsening situation which many Christian communities in the region were facing. I was given this text as an inspiration for the icon of Our Lady of the Wall, so in order to get behind the meaning of the image we need to start by taking a look at that.

The immediate context for the Synod was the decimation of the ancient Christian communities in the Middle East, and in particular Iraq and the Holy Land. As I am sure we are all well aware, the position of Christians in the predominantly Muslim countries of the Middle East has become somewhat precarious in the aftermath of 9/11, the Iraq war and the continuing military operation in Afghanistan. In Iraq itself an estimated half of the Christian population had been killed or fled abroad, leaving the Christian population at around 8%, though shrinking fast.

In the Pope's address on the first morning of the Synod, he made it clear that these events are to be read at a cosmological level, and thus placed in a much broader context. Pope Benedict focuses on the Book of Revelation, to put into context these forces which tear at the very fabric of Christian and human life. He sees, in the description of Mary as the Woman Clothed in the Sun, the synthesis found in Luke's Gospel between Theotokos and Mater Ecclesiae, one which expounds the current reality which Christians are living through so painfully in the Middle East: "she gives birth with a cry of pain, she gives birth with great suffering. Here the Marian mystery is the mystery of Bethlehem extended to the cosmic mystery. Christ is always being born again through all the generations, and so he takes up, he gathers humanity into himself. And this cosmic birth is realized in the cry of the cross, in the suffering of the passion. And the blood of the martyrs belongs to this cry."

He then speaks of the powers of the gods which must come crashing down, as the truth confronts the darkness of ignorance, the truth of the One True God before which all other powers must fall. This is the history of the Old and New Testament. It is the history of the Church since the earliest times. Evil is weakened, then crashes, even though it brings great suffering to the Faithful and costs them dearly, even to the point of shedding their blood as indeed happened in the paradigm of Jesus' Life, Death and Resurrection.

In our current time the Pope identifies such evil powers as global financial greed, terrorist ideologies in the name of God, drugs, and the irresponsible populism that has led to the erosion of the value of purity and the inherent goodness of marriage. "This fight in which we find ourselves, this weakening of the gods, this fall of the false gods, who fall because they are not divinities but are powers that destroy the world, are spoken of in chapter 12 of Revelation, and with a mysterious image for which, it seems to me, there are nonetheless different fine

interpretations. It is said that the dragon directs a great stream of water against the fleeing woman, to sweep her away. And it seems inevitable that the woman will drown in this river. But the good earth absorbs this river, and it can do no harm. I think that it is easy to interpret what the river stands for: it is these currents that dominate everyone, and want to eliminate the faith of the Church, which seems to have nowhere to stand before the power of these currents that impose themselves as the only way of thinking, the only way of life. And the earth that absorbs these currents is the faith of the simple, which does not allow itself to be swept away by these rivers and saves the mother and saves the son. This is why the psalm says, the first psalm of the midday hour: "The faith of the simple is true wisdom" (cf. Psalm 118:130). This true wisdom of simple faith, which does not let itself be devoured by the waters, is the power of the Church. And we have come back to the Marian mystery."

The pope was saying that it is a grave mistake to see the shrinkage of the Christian population in the Middle East in isolation, or superficially in terms of Islamic persecution, counter to the way many commentators have portrayed it in the West. The decimation of the Christian presence in the Middle East is part of a wider assault, at a cosmic level, upon Christians everywhere. Violent fanaticism in the name of God is only one aspect of it. These forces are oppressive, corrosive, deceitful, fuelled by fear, hatred and greed.

The pope called for the Synod just days after returning from his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 2009, during which he called for the separation wall to go. Having lived in Bethlehem on and off for the past 4 years, I think we can see the wall as the fault line where these powers clash with our humanity, and Christians bear the brunt of it. In 1948, when the State of Israel was established through a violent civil war, the Christian population stood at about 20%. Now the figure hovers about 2% in Israel itself, and 1.2% in the Palestinian Territories. 64% of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza live in poverty, the economy strangled by the Occupation which has persisted now for 40yrs. In Israel, being Arabs, they are also subject to legalised discrimination while in the West Bank deprived of civil liberties as a result of the Occupation. Christians, as elsewhere in the Middle East, are predominantly Middle class small business people, and react as they have done in Iraq, Lebanon and so forth. They leave in order to make a decent life for their families, and the Christian indigenous population is almost extinct.

During his visit to Bethlehem Pope Benedict called the wall "a stark reminder of the stalemate that relations between Israelis and Palestinians seem to have reached… In a world where more and more borders are being opened up — to trade, to travel, to movement of peoples, to cultural exchanges — it is tragic to see walls still being erected…How we long to see the fruits of the much more difficult task of building peace!"

In my interview with the two Jewish academics, I tried to explain this further. Firstly, the wall is a creation of fear, fear of 'the other', a fear rooted in an interminable conflict entwined with injustice, violence and terror that reaches back to the early part of the 20th century. It marks a failure of human relationships, a failure to build a just and fair society, a failure to make friendships that bridge a divide, a failure of politics, a failure of a process working for lasting peace based on the mutual recognition of our intrinsic value as human persons made in the image and likeness of God. Its consequences are a deepening of those divisions, an increase of ignorance, a deepening of fear, and a paralysis of a desire for anything better.

As far back as 1995, despite it being the heady days of the Peace Process, Yitzak Rabin declared that the peace process was a path, and "this path must lead to a separation...We want to reach a separation between us and them. We do not want a majority of the Jewish residents of the state of Israel...to be subject to terrorism." Ironically he was assassinated by a terrorist, not an Arab but a Jewish settler. After the failure of the peace process in the wake of the second intifada, the wall stands as a testimony to those for whom peace, in the end, means not loving one's neighbour, not living in mutual respect and beneath a common law, but two separate and separated entities, where the safety of one take precedence over the human rights of the other and I am never my brother's keeper.

It is visually ugly, reminiscent of the Berlin Wall, that marked the fault line between two very different ideologies, communism and unbridled capitalism, both of which tore out the heart of old Christian Europe. The graffiti reminds us of the walls in Belfast marking the boundaries between communities at war where violence bred despair. It is the work of the Church to struggle to resist these powers and principalities and pull down these spiritual walls that they have erected, even at the cost of our own selves.

The Israeli wall is the same, equally smeared with hatred, fear, suspicion, misrepresentation, ignorance, oppression, violence and death, literally segregating people along racial and religious lines, and in a way which violates the integrity of people's homes, livelihoods and futures. This is the evil which Pope Benedict pointed to in his address, a force of desecration, division, conflict, hostility and violence, powers which Christ challenges and, ultimately, overcomes though at some cost to His People who at times share in the path of martyrdom.

This wall cuts through the ancient Christian hegemony and desecrates its liturgy, for the erection of the wall now makes it impossible to make the ancient Palm Sunday procession from Bethany to Jerusalem that has been celebrated since the time of Egeria in the 4th century, or indeed make your way from Nazareth to Bethlehem. It thus dislocates the Christian liturgy, just as it disrupts and degrades

the life of the Christian communities that straddle it. It is therefore a deeply sacrilegious act.

A suggestion for an image of Our Lady to be placed on the wall, came from some local Christians, which was taken up by the local monastic community who live beneath its shadow. For some years local Christians had met to pray the rosary beneath a paper poster of the Immaculate Conception stuck on the wall, and over time it got washed away. The sisters at the Emmanuel convent, which is where I run my icon courses, were among these and they thought about asking me for a special icon of the Mother of God to be written under the inspiration of this talk that Holy Father had given. And the rationale of placing something so holy on something so evil, was that it would be an agent of the triumph of Christ over those dark powers, and thus an agent to bring down the wall and everything that, as I explained above, it represents.

Buried away in the convent for a couple of weeks I worked on the design, trying to draw inspiration from the Tradition. In particular there was a Russian icon called 'Soothe My Sorrows', which speaks of Mary perceiving the sufferings of her Son and seeking consolation, a sorrow re-lived during the years separated from her Son before her Dormition. This seemed to nicely bring together these double aspects of Mary as Theotokos and Mother of the Church, i.e. of the suffering Church today in the context of the cosmic sufferings of Christ. It then took another week to be prepared to size and then written directly onto the wall. A version of this has been subsequently written as a gift for the pope.

We see Mary pregnant, and suffering as in the icon 'Soothe My Sorrows'. She clasps her outer radiant garment close to her chest as in icons of the Passion, yet opens her mantle to be a safe refuge. She is clothed in the traditional Byzantine garb of the Theotokos as in all icons, but nuanced by the description of the woman in the book of Revelation: in a golden garment, and with a crown of 12 stars, with the moon beneath her. This is a symbol associated in the Western tradition with Mary as the Immaculate Conception, a title which is associated with the crushing of the primeaval serpent, a symbol of the triumph of the Church over evil.

To the left we see the good earth opening up to swallow the waters sent by the beast, and to the right three ancient olive trees which endure, symbolic of the enduring virtues of faith, hope and charity against which the powers of the gods cannot in the end prevail. Beneath the image is a doorway through to Jerusalem, the ultimate aspiration of the Palestinian people but also, as the heavenly Jerusalem, of all Christian people. The key hangs beside it, a symbol of those who await a return to their homes from which they have been excluded, and a symbol of Mary the key to the door of Paradise. There is also a pair of boots, hanging on the wall, a symbol of those many millions of Palestinians who await the chance to walk once again on their own land, as one day we shall do in our

true homeland, the New Jerusalem, free from sin and death, in the new heaven and the new earth.

Placed as it is on the wall, there is a further element to highlight. To the far left is a massive graffiti piece of a great beast, bearing its fangs and its innards showing children it has devoured. In black and white, it is a stark, harsh, evil looking image. Placed next to this icon its deeper meaning is revealed to us, it is the Beast of the Book of Revelation, those powers which

seek to destroy, maim, and make suffer all that is Good, ultimately the Mother and her Child. This image of rage, and hate, spawned by all the wall represents, encapsulates the chaos, darkness and stench of a world where evil is rampant even if ultimately it must fail.

This nicely shows the prophetic work of the icon, revealing the truth, unmasking deceits. Placed on the wall it unmasks the myths of those who say this is in some way good, and shows it quite literally as something ugly, militaristic, hopeless. Placed here rather than on a church wall, it brings people to pray off the beaten track, to see for themselves the harsher realities which others don't want us to see. And in drawing pilgrims who then pray, it paradoxically heals the rupture in the Church's liturgy. It is not a substitute for that Palm Sunday procession but the icon does stand in that breach as a liturgical artefact and thus as a prophetic sign of what should be, as a reproach to those who have tried to make this a liturgical wasteland. It is a place which draws people into the Church's liturgy, to pray, to commune with God.

If nothing else, the icon brings beauty, dazzling literally in its reflections of gold leaf, where there is sheer brutal, industrialised ugliness. Just as when people pray there then the ultimate truth of the fall of those powers that have erected the wall is proclaimed and in some sense realised. It is the equivalent of the liturgical trumpets being blasted around the walls of Jericho.

Iconography has a special place in the history of Palestinian Christianity. Not only are the vast majority of native Christians eastern Rite Catholics or Orthodox, but the origins of this unique Christian art from which all of Western Art has developed lies in Byzantine Palestine. Most people's interest in the Holy Land focuses, naturally enough, on the Biblical Period and Jewish and Christian investment has financed extensive archaeological research on these periods. Little attention has been paid to the Byzantine period, which spanned almost 300 years and was the most prosperous, most populated, most creative and most politically important time until the last century. It was at this time that Palestine became known as the Holy Land (for the Jews it was the Promised Land), and was the spiritual centre of a deeply religious empire.

After the peace of Constantine, Palestine rapidly becoming a draw for thousands of pilgrims, and over the coming centuries many stayed, some as monks, some as traders, some as craftsmen. Settling they placed the Mass at the very heart of the community, and the sanctuaries of the Holy Places became public celebrations of the Christian Liturgy, literally shaping the

public space around the experience of Christ Risen and among His People. It was a place rich in resources, being a main trading route between the east and Constantinople, and it farm land reached far into what is now desert as the monasteries especially literally made the desert bloom. The Madaba map shows not only the extent of urbanisation but also the quality of the workmanship to be found even on the floors of churches.

This golden age of Palestine was first stalled by plague in the 6th century, which killed a third of the population of the Byzantine Empire; then by Persian invasion in collaboration with Jewish and Samaritan rebellions, and finally the Islamic invasion and conquest of the early 7th century which dislocated the Holy Land from Byzantine rule and a long decline into obscurity began.

Byzantine Palestine was the place where monasticism developed, the liturgy of the Church was nurtured, the liturgical year was shaped, and I believe sacred iconography came into existence. To explain why I think that would be another lecture, as it goes against some of the opinions of notable art historians such as Robin Cormack for whom I have an enormous respect. Suffice to say it focuses on the monasteries, and in the monastery of St Catherine in particular, currently the repository of more than half of the earliest icons in existence.

The period of Byzantine Palestine deserves to be better known, and recognised. A recent BBC programme on the City of Jerusalem, that purported to be a comprehensive presentation of the city's history, gave precisely 5 minutes to the Christian era under Byzantium. Yes, 5 minutes to cover not just 300 yrs of history, but one which was not matched in either size or prosperity until the 20th century. Such bias robs Palestinians in general of an important part of their national story, as well as marginalising the Christian contribution to Palestinian identity. It makes the Christian story seem marginal both for Palestinians and wider Christian history, which is simply untrue. This is the story of St John Damascene and St Jerome, the catechetical work of St Cyril and the library of Eusebius, the wonders of urbanisation and the transformation of the desert into a metropolis of monasteries.

Iconography is thus an integral part of the Palestinian inheritance, which re-enforces the distinctive and pivotal contribution Christians have made to that, and an intrinsic part of the living patrimony of the Holy Land. For these reasons it is important that iconography is given a proper place in Palestinian culture today, that it relies not on foreigners but is itself

producing working iconographers of the highest standard. As a meeting point between the many different 'episcopal' denominations – Orthodox, Latin, Greek Catholic, Copt, Syrian etc - it has a unique opportunity to breathe new life into this ancient and universal art form that transcends the petty divisions of the day with something that takes us all back deep into our roots from where we can drink more deeply.

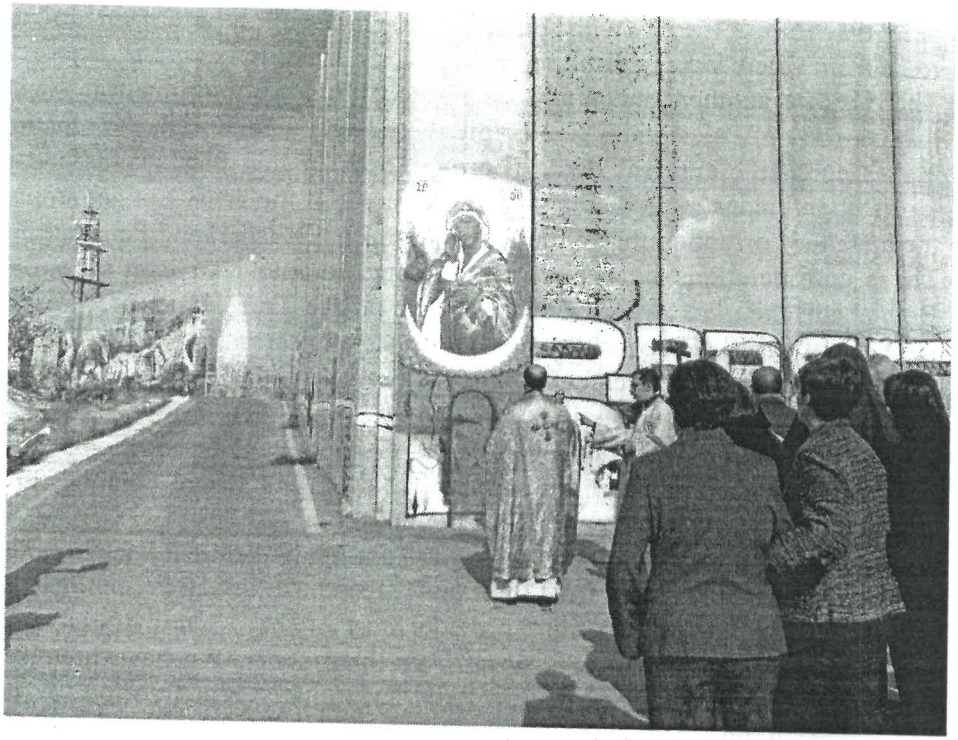
There is also another aspect, to do with the Church's commitment to social justice. 64% of Palestinians live below the poverty line, and the occupation makes economic survival hard. The one chink in that bleak landscape is tourism, and icons are a viable source of income if the artist can get around the endemic corruption that is the tourism industry in Israel and Palestine.

These considerations lie behind my attempts to found an icon school in Bethlehem, the place where God first gave us the True Image of Himself, the Face of Christ. The workshop will be more of a centre for iconography, a place of training, research, exhibitions, lectures and also a place where associated iconographers will be able to sell work of the highest quality direct to the public. It will be a sort of artists' colony, so that iconographers can work together on more substantial projects, and where churches and individuals can come with confidence to make commissions.

The first ten students have been selected, from many different backgrounds. They will all study for free, but have responsibility for running the workshop, fundraising and must provide most of their own materials and tools. Their training will take place over three years. We have premises which a Palestinian businessman in Paris has donated rent free for 15 yrs, and a local cultural charity has undertaken to get the building renovated for us. We are working in partnership with the Tantur Ecumenical study centre, which is a papal institute but headed by a priest, Fr Timothy Lowe, from the Orthodox Church of America. Our patron is Archbishop Zerey of the Greek Catholic Patriarchate in Jerusalem. We also have had offers of tuition from British iconographers, and generous donors who have provided £15,000 necessary for the first year. This is a tiny sum of money for such a project, but it is all very ascetic and lean, which I hope will ensure that we find some more generous individuals to ensure the medium term future.

My plan is that in ten years it will be entirely run by Palestinian Christians, who will not only be good iconographers but know the important part iconography has played in their own history. Perhaps this will ensure that Christians see more clearly their own place in the Holy Land, and the importance for them to stay, struggle and resist those powers which the Pope

has identified as hacking away at the very life of Christianity in the Middle East and indeed in the world. May Our Lady of the Wall pray for them, for the School and for us.



Ian Knowles' lecture on Our Lady of the Wall was given at the Centre for Eastern Christianity in association with the Society in July 2012. A spontaneous collection raised £500 towards the opening term of the new Bethlehem Icon School. For more information, see www.eliasicons.co.uk and www.bethlehemiconschool.org

OBITUARIES

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARIA OF YUGOSLAVIA

Њ.В. Краљица Марија (1900 – 1961)

In 1961 Her Majesty Queen Maria of The Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, the widow of the assassinated King Alexander, daughter of Queen Marie of Romania and a great granddaughter of Queen Victoria, died in exile in England and was buried at Frogmore in Windsor Great Park. This spring the body of this Orthodox Queen was disinterred and taken for burial in the Royal Tombs in Belgrade, in the presence of her Majesty's grandson Crown Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia, the Orthodox Kings of Bulgaria and Greece and her grandson and grand daughter T.R.Hs Prince Nicholas and Princess Katerina of Yugoslavia.

Her Majesty's life had been tragic – the loss of her husband at the hands of an assassin in Marseilles her elder son's loss of his throne and the exile of her family. She remained a rallying point for exiled Yugoslavs in this country and worked hard in visiting her former subjects and supporting their cathedral of St.Savva, the former Anglican church of St. Columb in Lancaster Road, Notting Hill, London.

May the Handmaid of God, Maria, now Rest in Peace.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS MARGARITA VON BADEN - KARADJORDJEVIC

Reception for SS. Martha and Mary convent at Ennismore Gardens – Russian Cathedral, London. L-R Mr Harry Turnbridge, Mr Robert Golden, Fr John Salter, H.G.D.H. Princess Margarita of Baden, Mrs Audrey Hutchinson, Dr Remma (on the medical staff at the Convent), Mr J.L. Bolton-Dignum, Countess Moutbatten of Burma, The Lady Abbess of the Convent.

The death occurred in London on 15th January 2013 of Princess Margarita of Yugoslavia, the widow of His Royal Highness Prince Tomislav, the middle brother of King Peter. She was the daughter-in-law of Queen Maria; niece of the Duke of Edinburgh and daughter of his sister Princess Theodora of Greece and Denmark and the Margrave of Baden. She was born in Salem, Germany, on 14th July 1932, and moved to London in 1948 to train as a nurse at St.Thomas' Hospital, where she was known as Nurse von Baden and after her marriage, and promotion, as Sister George. The Royal House of Yugoslavia being known as Karadjordevic- Black George.

Like many Lutheran princesses who married into Orthodox Royal families, Margarita converted to Orthodoxy and became a keen supporter of the Serbian Church not only in London, but also the church of St.Lazar in Bourneville, Birmingham. At her husband's farm in Sussex she and Prince Tomislav held open house for the exiled Serbs.

Princess Margarita was a tireless worker for charitable causes and chaired the committee which oversaw the construction of the huge cathedral in Belgrade and the training of Serbian Theological students in England, thus building on the labours of Father Fynes-Clinton a generation earlier. For members of the Serbian community, who died and had no relations, she provided a charity to pay for their funerals. She was Vice-President of the Friends of the SS.Martha and Mary Convent in Bolshaya street, Moscow, founded by the Tzarina's sister Grand Princess Elizabeth Feodrovna (St. Elizabeth of the New Martyrs of Russia) and played a significant role in its restoration. She also encouraged the work of Mother Mariam in Orthodox Georgia and the work of the icon painting school in Dobricevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We offer our prayers and sympathy to her son Prince Nicholas and her daughter Princess Katerina, and the bereaved members of the Serbian Orthodox community, who have lost a dear sister and friend.

Her uncle Duke of Edinburgh and the Crown Prince and Princess of Yugoslavia were present at her funeral at the Cathedral of St. Savva. She was laid to rest in Belgrade.

MAY SHE REST IN THE PEACE OF GOD! Vyecnaya Pamyat!

ARCHIMANDRITE JOHN MAITLAND MOIR (1924-2013)

Father John was a long-standing member of the Anglican & Eastern Churches' Association both as an Anglican and as an Orthodox priest.

He was a priest at the Orthodox church of St. Andrew, in Edinburgh, but also founded some Orthodox centres in Scotland. He was also chaplain to the Orthodox at Edinburgh University, and he died peacefully in the Scottish capital on 17th April 2013.

Father John studied Classics at Christ Church, Oxford, and theology at Cuddesdon College, and in 1950-51, as an Anglican, at the Greek Theological College of Halki in Istanbul. On his return to Scotland he was ordained in the Episcopal Church.

In 1981 he travelled to Mount Athos, having resigned his ministry in the Diocese of Moray, and was received into the Orthodox Church in the monastery of Simonopetra. He returned to London and served faithfully for 30 years in the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.

Father John had inherited a fortune, but he died virtually penniless as he gave so much away. No down-and–out or alcoholic was ever turned away from his home. Homeless tramps would be found sleeping on his sofa. He was tireless in his concern for victims of torture and persecuted Christians throughout the world. As his health, always poor, declined further and as he lost his sight he spent more and more time in prayer. He could be described as an Orthodox staretz.

May his memory be eternal ! John Salter